FEATURE

THE CULTURE AND POLITICS OF CONSUMPTION, 1880s–1960s

Burton National Advertising, March 1953, Burton Archives, Box 120

Retailing, Commercial Culture and Masculinity in 1950s Britain: the case of Montague Burton, the 'Tailor of Taste'

by Frank Mort and Peter Thompson

> Dear Sir,
> It is my pleasure to inform you that an event of great importance and personal interest to every gentleman . . . takes place next Thursday. The event is the opening of our new branch . . . Due to the growth of our trade . . . which is a testimony not only to the excellent Montague Burton value but also to the discernment of our customers . . . you are cordially invited to come and visit our elegant and up-to-date showroom, which is furnished in lined oak in the most modern manner. Here you can select from our wide range of Bespoke patterns . . . or you may choose a ready tailored Suit . . . at unbeatable value.
> (*Special Letter of Invitation on the opening of Burton's new premises in Devizes, 1953).*[1]

Viewed through the prism of cultural memory, Burton's has the power to evoke competing images of Britain in the 1950s. Positive reminiscences nostalgically recall the 'tailor of taste' as a stable landmark in town centres across the country. A focal point on the high street, Burton's window was always the most brightly-lit spot. It was here that men congregated in

untroubled intimacy, before the anxieties of style and fashion threw such a world into disarray. For the writer and broadcaster, Ray Gosling, the atmosphere of a Burton's shop was unmistakable: 'Men talking to men . . . This was the sound all over Britain on Saturdays as I remember. Customers standing on the silent, polished wooden floor. Legs akimbo, arms up. Keep it perfectly still. Misters respectfully measuring misters.'[2] This reassuring image of collective uniformity – of a shared masculine culture fixed by retailing – has also been reinforced by the size and scale of the Burton's empire. Dominating the menswear sector, its claims were grandiose; up to one-third of British men were dressed by Burton's. And the firm's quintessential product, the bespoke suit, has been read in symbolic terms as an emblem of post-war cultural democracy. For the company ideal of the gentleman was not fixed solely by rank and status; he was quite literally 'everyman' who aspired to be dressed by Burton's.

Ranged against this romantic retrospective has been pitched a much bleaker and more negative gloss on British menswear in the 1950s. 'The decade of the purge' is how Nik Cohn, doyen of the style *cognoscenti*, has characterized the period. For these were the years before the flowering of male youth culture, when the high street serviced only the great mass of the 'dark grey undead'.[3] Dress was governed by the 'patriarchal principle'; men did not 'rebel', nor create fresh standards, but obeyed the norms laid down by their fathers. Here the fifties has been condemned as a period of stifling conventionality. Cut, colour and fabric reached a nadir of standardization and the slightest deviation was enough to make a man 'suspect'.[4] Within this story of style the critical break came at the end of the decade. The arrival of American and 'continental' styling, quickly followed by the domestic impact of the teenager, sounded the death-knell for firms like Burton's. It was these commercial and cultural upheavals which ushered in a radically different version of masculinity.

Retailing and Consumption in Post-War Britain: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives

These two opposing vignettes introduce a number of significant themes in our account of commercial culture in post-war Britain. But this study is framed neither as a traditionalist lament for a lost world of gender stability, nor as a modernist critique of the 1950s as a decade of 'style monotony' and associated cultural conservatism. Rather, the aim is to unpack the arguments touched on in these narratives and to subject them to a different type of scrutiny. Our history has a double focus. First, it is an account of the ways in which retailing was organized in the post-war period. This brings together a number of distinct but interrelated themes: techniques of salesmanship and selling, forms of visual display and product design, together with an account of the growing impact of advertising and marketing. It was these commercial strategies which shaped Burton's approach to customers. The

company understood its market as a socially constituted group of men, with identifiable taste patterns and personae. It is the growing turbulence within the menswear sector from the mid 1950s which has encouraged recent commentators to lament or celebrate the passing of the suit. Unravelling Burton's responses to the changing dynamics of this market – changes which were themselves bound up with broader shifts in the culture of masculinity – forms the second strand of our history.

But why Burton's? How can the company be used to focus a number of broader questions about British business and commercial forms of gender identity during the period? Answering these questions involves some engagement with a more expansive historical debate about the character of post-war society. Here the key referent is not retailing as such, but the more abstract and generalized concept of 'consumption'. Historians and social scientists have identified domestic, private sector consumption as central to economic and cultural change in Britain from the early 1950s. Along with economic growth, full employment and the welfare state, the impact of 'consumer culture' has become enshrined as one of the master-narratives of the period. Arguments about the precise significance and meaning of consumption have varied considerably, but accounts have tended to polarize around either economic or cultural models of historical change.

Economists and economic historians have focussed on the growing importance of demand management, understood in the context of Keynesianism and the break with Labour's version of the command economy.[5] Business historians have highlighted a different set of variables. Their emphasis has been on the ways in which changes to productive organization and output were the driving force behind a new upsurge in consumer demand. Accelerated take-up of the techniques of mass production, such as flow-line assembly, deskilling and standardized product-design, is seen as having crystallized the contours of the mass market.[6] Assumptions about the 'consumer society' have frequently been accompanied by arguments about the impact of American-style business methods. The notion that during the 1950s British firms looked increasingly towards the 'advanced' techniques of selling derived from the USA has been widely circulated.[7] The growing role of advertising and marketing – those twin engines of modern consumerism – has understandably loomed large in these accounts. Yet economic and business histories have perpetuated a number of glaring omissions. Most notably, it has been economists' failure properly to address the symbolic dimensions of the world of goods (i.e. all the ritualistic functions which consumers offload onto commodities) which has stimulated more culturally nuanced studies. Since the 1950s sociologists and cultural historians have endlessly debated the impact of changing consumption patterns on key social groups. The relationship of affluence to regional and generational change within working-class communities and its effects on women's roles and experience and on the crystallization of youth identities have been studied almost obsessively.[8] Taken together, these different accounts have produced a general thesis; namely, that from the early 1950s the British

economy entered a new phase of organization and management, which had far-reaching effects on social and cultural life.

Despite the sophistication of much of this writing it is shadowed by a recurrent problem. The difficulty centres on the way in which the idea of consumption is continually invoked as a meta-concept to explain a disparate set of historical phenomena. Consumption is glossed as a composite and synthetic term; belonging simultaneously to debates over economic change, the nature of the post-war settlement, and the recomposition of class and gender relations. What is at issue is the tendency to over-generalize on the particular cycles of demand, markets and their cultural significance. It is this burden of over-generality which has given our work a more precise focus. Our account of Burton's is not framed by an all-inclusive notion of consumption. Rather, we highlight one moment in the consumer cycle – retailing and its associated forms of commercial culture. In approaching Burton's we also distinguish between different levels of business organization. Policies generated in the white-heat of the boardroom are complemented by a focus on selling and salesmanship in the high street branch. The focus on the individual firm, and its place within the sector as a whole, provides a useful antidote to the problems of over-generality.[9] Yet while such a sectorally specific analysis provides a more precise framework for approaching post-war consumption, it cannot be understood in isolation. This is most evident at the level of the symbolic dimensions of commodification. Particular products – such as Burton's suits – generate their meanings from broad-based cultural rituals. Questions of taste, social status and the commercial orchestration of masculinity loom large here. They demand a perspective which is wider than the marketing strategies of any one firm or sector. Exploration of these issues produces a more complex account of modern consumption than that covered by the general rubric of 'affluence', or through that most overworked metaphor of historical change – the perennial idea of the 'consumer revolution'.[10] With these themes in mind, we turn to Burton's.

The 'Tailor of Taste'

'Mass distribution marts, the logical outcome of machine and mass production, are a boon and a blessing to the people'.[11] In their heyday, from the 1930s to the 1950s, Burton's might at first glance be read as a characteristically Fordist enterprise such as is often seen to herald the coming of the mass market. For here were huge runs of standardized products, backed by a hierarchical business culture, serving a uniform market. But closer inspection of the 'tailor of taste' reveals a more complex system of production and retailing. The key to understanding Burton's, and the men's tailoring industry as a whole, during these years is the concept of 'wholesale bespoke'.

The British men's and boys' clothing sector was composed of two distinct industries: tailors – makers of suits, jackets and coats; and outfitters – retailers of shirts, flannels, pyjamas etc. Like their competitors, household names such as Hepworths, John Collier and Weaver to Wearer, Burton's

were tailors. During the interwar years, menswear became increasingly dominated by two inter-related developments: the growth of large-scale factory production and an increase in the number of multiple branch tailors retailing their own product.[12] Or, as the trade would have put it, 'multiple tailors' selling 'wholesale bespoke'. The process ran as follows. 'Sir' was measured in much the same intimate surroundings as could be found in a traditional establishment. Yet his suit was factory made under the most standardized procedure. Whether it was genuine bespoke (i.e. made largely by hand, to fit an individual customer) was a matter of considerable trade controversy. Critics, notably the taste-leaders of London's Savile Row, tartly claimed that wholesale bespoke was little more than a counterfeit, since it involved neither personal contact between tailor and customer, nor hand-finishing, nor was it truly made-to-measure.[13] Instead, multiple tailoring simply fitted the customer to predetermined shapes: medium, portly, short portly and so on. From the inter-war years onwards the multiples consolidated their hold over the men's clothing sector. In 1937 alone the industry produced some 12.7 million suits, and though over the next thirty years suit production almost halved, the multiples' market share increased.[14]

Size, scale and nationwide coverage were the characteristic features of Burton's performance. The company's precise market share is not recorded, but from the 1930s Burton's was the largest manufacturer and retailer of tailored menswear in Britain.[15] Among its many contributions to the war effort, the company made over a third of all demob suits. Even as late as 1961, in the opinion of the Economist Intelligence Unit, Burton's remained the 'biggest brand name in men's suits'.[16] In terms of market position, the tailor of taste lay almost in the dead centre of men's clothing retailers. Obviously distanced from the genuine bespoke trade of Savile Row and its more upmarket competitors, like Aquascutum or Simpson's, Burton's claims to taste and affordable elegance also differentiated it from firms such as the Fifty Shilling Tailor, where the emphasis was almost exclusively on price. It was the aim of Sir Montague Burton (knighted in 1939) to dress each and every man in well-made, affordable clothes. Such an aspiration was not simply profit-driven. As a Jewish immigrant, self-made and self-educated, Sir Montague held out an egalitarian vision of a sartorial democracy. When customers wore their Burton's suit, vertical class hierarchies were blurred. *All* men could now achieve the highest standards of personal taste.

The chairman's public persona was a self-enactment of much of his business policy.[17] A committed modernist, he subscribed to a production-led philosophy in which social evolution followed from the vast economies of scale. Such a world-view was totalizing in its scope: the spheres of business, intellectual philosophy and good works were intertwined. As a philanthropist, he not only provided welfare facilities for his workforce, but also endowed university chairs in industrial relations and international affairs. And yet despite this collectivist vision, Sir Montague held the reins like a

nineteenth-century entrepreneur. During the years of dramatic expansion Montague Burton still assumed responsibility for the vast majority of day-to-day decisions. His dislike of delegating was notorious: no matter was too small nor too trivial for the chairman's attention. With batteries of memoranda he supervised local branches, investigated staff grievances and even played the detective over local shopping thefts! In the mid-twentieth century Burton's exhibited a complex structure which defies any simple characterization as Fordist or corporatist. Centralized business organization co-existed with the very active remnants of family capitalism; mass production rubbed shoulders with a personalized approach to commodities. Nowhere were these different nuances more evident than in the company's retailing policy. Though Sir Montague hymned the mass market, the picture in Burton's branches told a rather different story.

The Salesman, his Window and his Branch

Market day in Devizes, Wiltshire, in September 1953.[18] The day, as it always should be on such occasions, was a memorable one. The tailor of taste was about to open a new branch in the town centre. The launch began at the historic Bear Hotel on the market square, where senior executives rubbed shoulders with local civic dignitaries. At eleven o'clock the clutch of notables processed on foot to the new premises. On the pavement a short speech of welcome was delivered by Mr W. J. Fryatt, the South Western Area Manager. Warming to his task, Fryatt's oration was a panegyric to Burton's as a national institution, in which communities across the land were linked together by the flagship of British retailing. The new store, he enthused, formed: 'yet one more link in the chain of sartorial palaces which extend throughout the British Isles, from Stornoway in the North to St Helier in the South, and from Limerick in the West to Lowestoft in the East.' Whereupon Captain C. H. Hargreaves, Burton's Public Relations Officer, stepped smartly forward to invite 'a distinguished gentleman and resident of the area', Lord Long of Wraxhall, to cut the ribbon and declare the new premises open. The Viscount was one type of local dignitary who Burton's preferred to front their opening events. Resident at Ashton Manor, Trowbridge, he had been the local Conservative MP between 1927 and 1931. With a distinguished military record in two world wars, his hobbies were listed as hunting, shooting and cricket. There is no record of Lord Long's sartorial style, but his social image was certainly that of the complete gentleman.

The ceremony over, the official party proceeded on a tour of inspection. Reports strategically placed in the local press recorded that guests had been impressed with the shop design and its fittings.[19] Modernity and tradition had been skilfully blended together to produce an effect of elegance with up-to-date styling. Inside, an entrance hall of white marble was furnished with oak-finished armchairs. The ground floor was devoted to bespoke tailoring and visitors were 'immediately impressed with the atmosphere of

freedom and beauty of setting'. There were magnificent displays of cloth 'in the piece', as well as a vast array of folded garments. But there was no air of clutter or fussiness; clean masculine lines were the order of the day. Upstairs in the fitting rooms special mirrors had been installed to enable customers to gaze at themselves in an all-round view, 'in complete privacy'. Burton's staff went to strenuous efforts to cater not only for individual taste, but for the particularities of the male physique. As head office delicately put it: 'the tailor knows that many people have little peculiarities so slight, the individual has no notion of them, but they are all important to the fit of the garment'.

All of this retailing finesse was now essential for any company which sought to address the male population. At this point Burton's management waxed sociological. Of all the changes in manners and customs which had been brought about in recent years, none was more striking than the reaching of higher standards of dress by the men of Britain. The company naturally claimed credit for these sartorial changes. Burton's brought all the advantages of a great organization to work for the individual customer. As the clutch of VIPs moved off for a special lunch at the Bear Hotel, the occasion was judged a 'first class opening'.

Devizes in the early 1950s presented an image of quintessential rural England.[20] But Burton's approach to retailing was not confined to these cocoons of Englishness. Similar openings took place throughout 1953, in high streets and market-places across Britain. There were ceremonies at Shirley High Street, Southampton, in February, at Rickmansworth in April, at Sale and Londonderry in July and at Redditch in September.[21] The company's claims to nationwide status appeared well-founded.

The purpose of sketching this tableau is not simply to luxuriate in a bizarre version of English provinciality; a sort of latter day *Clochemerle*. It is to point up the very particular approach to retailing used by Burton's until the early 1950s. We have already argued that oversimplified readings of post-war consumption have exaggerated the image of a unified mass market, driven by the growing power of advertising and marketing. Despite Burton's national image, their approach to the world of goods remained local and particular in the extreme. Each Burton's branch was understood not only as a cog in the company's empire, but also as an integral part of every high street and local community.

Central to the company's approach were three distinct techniques of retailing: shop location, window display and the art of salesmanship. Crystallized at Burton's during the interwar years, they often drew on a legacy of nineteenth-century traditions of merchandizing. From the 1930s a pivotal part of the firm's success lay with the choice of site. It was during this period that the company acquired a massive property portfolio and Sir Montague himself was intimately involved in identifying potential sites in town and city centres. The preference was for redundant corner locations, which were often already associated with forms of masculine culture such as

a pub or billiard hall. After acquisition the property would be redeveloped with a characteristic granite or Empire stone fascia, set-off by metal fittings. The aim was to establish a landmark in each town, creating a visual impression of solid worth through a combination of the store's superior position and the material fabric of the building.[22]

Reinforcing the local emphasis was the importance awarded to visual display. Burton's *Manager's Guide*, issued by head office to branches at the opening of 1953, returned again and again to the impression made on customers by a well-dressed shop window:

> A well dressed window is a greater selling force than a newspaper and other forms of publicity combined. To neglect the greatest selling asset . . . is unworthy of a progressive business-man . . . the shop window is better than a picture, for the prospective customer sees the original. Ten thousand words could not convey the same description . . . that a good window display does.[23]

What was emphasized was the superiority of the local display over other forms of advertising and national publicity. Windows were changed weekly during the period and lit from dusk until eleven at night. The shop front conveyed an immediate sense of visual excitement, an atmosphere of variety and an invitation to purchase, which press work could not hope to match. Advertising only created verisimilitude, it was the tangible reality of commodities on display which was the major asset.

Once inside the shop patrons were welcomed by the branch salesman, who was awarded pride of place in the selling process. Positioned, as any modern business student would understand, at the 'interface' between customer and retailer, salesmanship was defined in the 1953 manual simply but grandly as: 'the art of making people want what you have to sell'.[24] The salesman's role was to cultivate 'desire', but this was not glossed in psychological terms, 'Desire to possess should be the lodestar of every salesman. Create desire to possess strong enough to overcome a natural antipathy to parting with money, and you will make sale after sale.'[25]

Advertising in the more conventional sense was viewed as supplementary to these local practices of retailing. Burton's did of course use press advertising; as early as 1933 company policy had shifted away from the use of sandwich-boards and publicity booklets in favour of press work.[26] But it was the locally targetted approach which continued to dominate. Announcements in weekly and evening papers addressed consumers as members of particular towns and communities. 'Opening in style for the men of Shirley. Tomorrow Friday 26th in the High Street', announced the *Southern Daily Echo* in February 1953.[27] Displays in the national press were used more sparsely and were subject to strict controls. Here Burton's favoured the large-circulation dailies, with above average penetration among lower-middle and upper-working-class readers, such as the *Daily Express* and the

Daily Herald.[28] Evoking the success of 'the greatest retailer in Europe', F. W. Woolworth ('a company which does not spend a penny on publicity'), Burton's executives reiterated their view that good shop location, well-dressed windows, tactful salesmanship and good value remained the best forms of publicity.[29]

Local over national, techniques of selling positioned as close to the point of sale as possible, rather than driven by mass communication, with press and publicity not seen as independent agents in the consuming process, but closely supervised by the retailer – these were characteristic features at Burton's during the early post-war period. At the risk of repetition, we draw attention to these themes because the composite blueprint of mass consumption has oversimplified the structure of the British market. But the early fifties constituted a break moment, not only for Burton's but for the menswear sector as a whole.

A Menswear Revolution?

The years 1953–54 were a period of spectacular take-overs and mergers within the menswear industry. Not only did Burton's lay claim to Jackson the Tailor, but Prices and Alexandre fell to United Drapers. New faces appeared in the boardroom; household names disappeared and new ones emerged. Reviewing this hectic activity, *The Times* noted that the reorganization which followed involved something more than the familiar economies of scale. There was also a more 'modern approach to salesmanship'.[30] A surprising note of individuality was being sounded by the large clothing multiples. Style was changing more rapidly and this was reflected in advertising and display. There seemed to be a flight from uniformity; the whole aim 'was to get away from the atmosphere of regimentation' which had dogged men's clothing in former times. *Men's Wear*, the industry's leading trade journal, echoed the changes. Shop windows were getting livelier, colour touches were coming in, there was even the hint of a 'feminine angle'.[31] Since the end of the war men's attitudes had undergone a sea-change; the strait-jacket of dress formality was now dead. Small stores had led the way; the large multiples needed to prepare not only for increased competition, but for permanent revolution.

Here in embryo was an early statement of a theme which was to dominate the menswear sector over the next decade and to resonate among cultural commentators for much longer. Menswear was in a state of flux. Fashion journalists, trade commentators and manufacturers joined forces to sing the praises of the British male, whose discerning taste now demanded a constant cycle of innovation. This litany went through endless permutations from the mid 1950s across all sectors of the market. Later manifestations of the trend included the influx of Italian styling in 1959, and fashion designer Hardy Amies' slogan of the 'peacock revolution', coined in 1965, culminating with the quintessential image of sixties 'swinging London'.[32]

Descriptively this map of change is all too well established. But the

precise conditions shaping such transformations are more difficult to determine. Versions of Cohn's avant-garde thesis have dominated explanations. Subcultural innovators have been cast as the heroes of the British fashion industry, dragging the large retailers towards modernism.[33] Yet closer examination of the sector points to a much more complex role for the multiples and their perceptions of men's changing stance on fashion.

The first serious salvos in the industry's campaign to reshape men's attitudes were launched by the newly established Publicity and Promotions Committee of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation after 1956.[34] This was no avant-garde coterie, it represented the interests of the big players in the field. The explicit brief was to stimulate demand. The sticking-point was that despite a pronounced upturn in many consumer sectors in the mid-1950s, outlay on men's clothing remained stubbornly static.[35] Seeking professional advice, the committee made its first foray into the world of marketing consultancy, with the appointment of publicist John Murphy as its adviser. Murphy proposed an imaginative range of ideas to boost expenditure. Education was the key; men needed to be tutored into the desirability of being better dressed. This was a self-conscious attempt to promote the idea of fashionability by the large clothing multiples.

How were these changes played out at Burton's? Sir Montague died a workaholic's death in September 1952, on a Sunday evening, whilst addressing a group of senior executives after a private dinner![36] His demise precipitated an immediate management crisis, which was compounded by the increasing turmoil in the menswear market. The Burton's board recognized that survival rested on the influx of new managerial talent. Their take-over of the Newcastle firm, Jackson the Tailor, in July 1953 brought with it the company's sought-after managing director, Lionel Jacobson. Jacobson – dubbed by the industry as a 'very modern tycoon' – represented a new breed of senior manager.[37] Where Sir Montague had projected a grandiose vision of industrial progress, 'Mr Lenny' was much more exclusively business orientated. Though university-educated, he showed little interest in the intellectual and international causes championed by Sir Montague. Quiet and self-effacing, with a television set in his office, Jacobson was first and foremost a retailing entrepreneur.

Looking back on his early years with Burton's at the end of the decade, Jacobson recalled that he had been quick to read the signs of change among younger men.[38] By the mid-1950s there was a desperate yearning for more modern designs. But with a keen eye on his own market, he insisted that younger men were not searching for complete informality, rather for casual elegance. As he put it: 'The wearer wants to project an image of himself of being slightly careless, but somehow just right'. The problem was that Burton's were failing to read these changes in taste. On his arrival, Jacobson was seriously worried by Burton's notorious uniformity of style. He was also unimpressed by the company's means of speaking to the customer.[39]

The first sign of movement under Jacobson's regime was a comprehensive programme of branch refurbishment. By 1956 almost half of all Burton's stores had been refitted.[40] Many of the modernization schemes were associated with the opening of sites in the shopping parades of new towns, such as Crawley and Hemel Hempstead. But as significant as the process itself was the incoming chairman's grasp of the nature of retailing change. Constant innovation must now be regarded as an ever-present feature of our policy, Jacobson announced to shareholders.[41] Along with the modernization programme, display was nationally organized.[42] 'The walls of Jericho are falling!' trumpeted the trade journal *Display* in 1954, 'throughout Montague Burton's far-flung empire . . . a new style is now feeling its way'.[43] Jacobson echoed the views of progressives in the industry when he declared that the traditional multiple tailor's window was both boring and vulgar. All those cluttered lengths of cloth were associated only with cheapness. Prevailing display theory amounted to little more than a belief in advertising every inch of your stock. From now on windows would be opened up; they also needed to convey a focussed theme or tell a story. Branch managers could not be expected to dress their own windows. What the industry needed was a new breed of commercial expert – the display specialist. By 1964 Burton's display department had a staff of over four hundred, who were kept up-to-date via a central advisory bureau in Leeds.[44]

Burton's growing reliance on specialist expertise was further enhanced by the most extensive set of changes – the dramatic reorganization of their advertising. The shift was not simply one of quantitative expansion, it marked a move away from the local emphasis, so dominant at the Devizes opening, towards a focus on national campaigns.[45] The sea-change was symbolized only months after Sir Montague's death, when Burton's opened an account with Dorland Advertising Ltd. Although established in the interwar years, in style the firm epitomized the new wave of agency associated with the so-called American invasion of British advertising in the mid-1950s. With headquarters in New York and offices in a number of European cities, Dorland was a de-luxe concern, in a quite different league to the Leeds-based printers and publicists which Burton's had traditionally relied on. In early 1954 Burton's moved their account yet again, this time to W. S. Crawford, the ninth-largest advertising business in the UK. Crawford had a reputation as a fashionable agency, with a strongly art-directed approach.[46] The results of this second move were immediately visible in a heavy burst of advertising in the national press. With a strong visual presence, Crawford's designs were hailed by the profession as revolutionary, marking a break away from traditional images of the tailoring industry. And as *The Outfitter* put it bluntly, with a sidelong glance at Burton's traditional publicity: 'W. S. Crawford have given Montague Burton Ltd . . . an injection of class'.[47] On the second night of commercial television, in September 1955, Burton's booked a full one-minute slot, at peak viewing time, for an advert designed by Crawford's. What the viewers saw was a

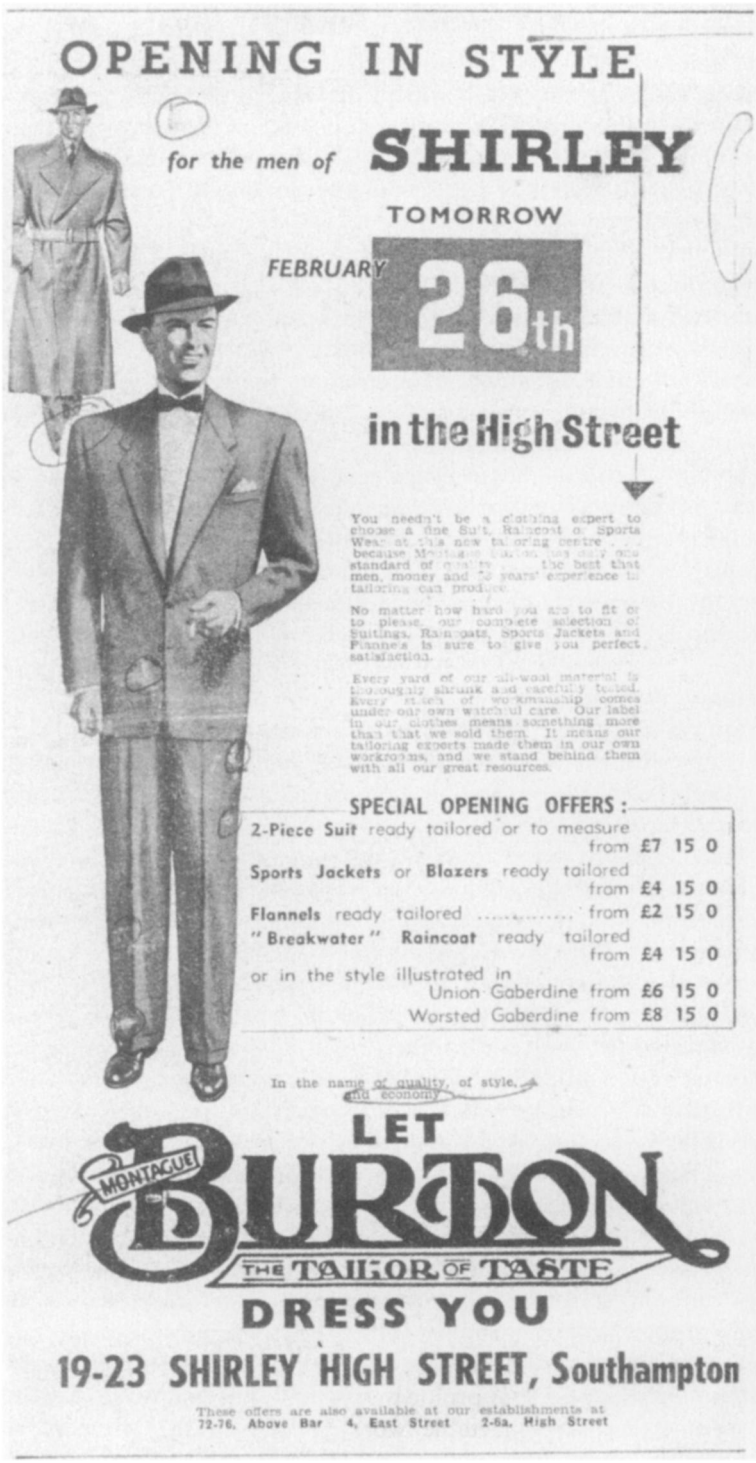
commercial which was atmospheric in mood, capturing an air of 'happiness and gaiety'; that 'good to be alive feeling'.[48] Cruising down the road in a snappy sports car on a bright, sunny morning, a young man was about to call on his favourite girl. What was it that made him feel so good? The car? The sunshine? The girl? No, the Burton's suit he was wearing! Here was a new script from the tailor of taste, which spoke about leisure, affluence and a different version of masculinity.

From Gentleman to Casual Man

Take two contrasted male images. The first is Burton's quintessential icon of the gentleman. Here the codes of manliness were formal and fixed. The ideal was of full adult manhood, indeterminate in age, but secure in status and position. Burton's gentleman might appear in different milieux – about town as well as on the way to the office – but his standard pose was always upright, if not stiff. He was either depicted solo or in dialogue as an equal with other men, linked by the bonds of a shared masculine culture and the rules of social etiquette. In manners and self-presentation this was a decidedly English world view. It was taken as given that the gentleman always appeared correctly dressed, for clothes were a visible emblem of social honour. Burton's second man was much more relaxed. Not a youth, nor a teenager, but a young adult, he was invariably depicted in a variety of leisure settings. Whether bowling, driving, drinking or with his girl, he appeared natural in every role. The suit was not his only style, rather he sported formal or casual wear as the occasion demanded. For clothes, like his persona, were not simply a source of prestige, they spoke of variety, even the fun of being fashionable.

Read in purely formal terms, as texts in a frame, advertising imagery can tell the historian little. But understood as a product of a specific professional culture, it can point to the social referents which retailers drew on to shape their market. Burton's addressed customers as a distinctive community of men, with a shared outlook. Unravelling the changes which occurred in this market from the 1950s has been at the centre of our study. But these transformations were not simply driven by retailing, they also took their impetus from a different reading of gender and class-cultural relations.

Burton's gentlemanly ideal was in part the company's interpretation of one established language of social class. Clothes as expressive of status, manners as visible markers of social division, resembled rituals grounded in a vertical model of class relations. This was by no means the only vocabulary available to fix class discourse, but it was this ensemble, rather than others, which was reinvigorated by Burton's in the immediate post-war period. It was epitomized in Burton's bizarre image of their branch salesmen as the fount of social esteem. And yet neither Burton's salesmen, nor the majority of their customers were persons of rank or status. The received wisdom about the firm's customer profile was that it was a composite of men from the lower-middle-class/respectable working-class strata. There is little hard



Southern Daily Echo, 25 February, 1953

evidence about the exact position of those who bought from Burton's, but oral testimonies, together with the company's position in the menswear hierarchy, and its carefully judged pricing policy, all point to men in subaltern social groups.[49]

What then was the appeal of this profile? Was the ordinary man simply being offered a latter-day fantasy of upper-class mores? Closer inspection of Burton's imagery points to a subtler negotiation of the gentlemanly theme, assiduously adapted to the culture of their customers. Despite the continuing emphasis on status, there was a more democratic tinge to Burton's marketing after the war. Pattern books and advertising copy tended to re-read the gentleman as 'John Citizen'. Depicted serving in the armed forces or against the municipal landscape of the town hall, he was quite literally 'everyman', demanding clothes for his particular role in life. Moving beyond the advertising image, it is clear that for many who were dressed by Burton's in the early 1950s, initiation into the culture of the suit was part of a broader initiation rite into manhood. We have already noted how Burton's has the power to evoke in men a particular structure of memory, focussed around consumer purchases. For grammar-school boy Roy Hattersley, finishing his school career in Sheffield in 1950, his first visit to Burton's marked one of the rites of passage into adulthood:

> I bought my first Burton's suit when I was 17. It was part of a package of purchases – dressing gown, cabin trunk, briefcase and single-breasted two-piece – in which I invested as a preparation for the great unknown – either university or National Service, according to the results of medical and Advanced Level examinations. I paid for the lot out of my own bank book . . . I matriculated dressed as an undertaker's clerk.[50]

Along with those other milestones in the lifecycle of ordinary men, such as matriculation, National Service or the first job, purchase of 'the suit' was a public sign of full male status. It was always approached with seriousness and forethought. The assumption of this adult persona conferred privileges as well as the burden of responsibility – a fact which becomes evident once the gentleman is viewed as a boundaried figure, with definite limits. Though Burton's ideal was indeed everyman, not everyone was welcome at Burton's.

To state the obvious, the company projected a masculine image in the early 1950s, but it is an obviousness which needs unpacking. Burton's approach to retailing was premissed on the exclusion of women and all associations of feminine culture. Selling was understood as a man's business. Women were kept away from the customers and though the branch cashier and the cleaners were usually women, they were never visible. Liz Marsden, cashier at St-Anne's-on-Sea, testified to the way in which she existed in a kind of purdah; enclosed in a wooden booth and unable to look out into the shop at all.[51] The ostensible reason for this marginalization of women was the delicate issue of measuring the male body; it was deemed unsuitable for a

Daily Mail, 5 February 1954
Burton National Advertising, March 1953, Burton Archives, Box 120.

'lady' to measure a man. But there were also broader cultural assumptions at work. Until the mid-1950s, Burton's projected a rational and implicitly masculine understanding of the purchasing process; the customer was cast as a variant of economic man, calculating and in control. Significantly the term 'shopping', with its more feminine and potentially more chaotic connotations, was never used by the company.[52] At times even the progressive Jacobson defined menswear in exclusive terms. Echoing the cries of literary culture's angry young men, he glossed some of the new trends in fashion as a

striving to break away from 'female bondage', whereby men's tastes had hitherto been dictated by the innate conservatism of mothers and wives.[53]

A strong component of Burton's gentlemanly ideal, then, was the affirmation of a collective masculine culture, which reproduced notions of separate spheres – even at the point of purchase. But Burton's gentleman also acquired status by being absolutely normal. Neither spectacular nor bizarre, not a 'clothes crank' nor an eccentric, he was secure in his personality.[54] Ranged against this idea of the social conformist were all those unconventionalists and dissidents who were marked out by improper dress. Burton's urged their salesmen to avoid dangerous items such as loud colours, 'sporty or semi-négligé attire', even soft collars.[55] Contemporary anxieties over male homosexuality, brought to a head in the government's publication of the *Wolfenden Report* (1957), frequently focussed on the issue of whether homosexual men could be identified by their extravagant mannerisms and flamboyant clothing. But other non-conformists were also hinted at in Burton's moral code, for instance the earlier image of the spiv and a more generalized persona of 'the exhibitionist', as well as the effeminate man. The company's preferred manly ideal was summed up in their famous memorandum to staff; all excess was to be avoided through restraint and quiet dignity: 'Avoid the severe style of the income-tax collector and the smooth tongue of the fortune teller. Cultivate the dignified style of the "Quaker tea blender" which is the happy medium'.[56]

By the late 1950s this company ideal had vanished. But it is misguided to read the change which took place during these years as a menswear revolution. Once again detailed analysis of specific markets points to a more nuanced account of the relationship between retailing and a new breed of consumer. The more casual, relaxed stance on masculinity began to dominate Burton's advertising from the middle of the decade. It was not of course aimed at men in general, rather at a particular slice of the market – younger men. Yet the new persona was not a youth, nor a classic teenager; it pre-dated those identities and amounted to an image of a fashion-conscious, young adult man. Market research at the time was interested in an age range much broader than that immortalized by Mark Abrams in *The Teenage Consumer* (1959). The focus was on men in the sixteen to thirty age band. Burton's address to what was principally a mainstream market meant that the more spectacular styles of youth culture were not built into their new address to men. Teddy-boy suits were made up in many branches, not least because their drape jackets and drainpipe trousers, however outlandish, were still tailored.[57] Nonetheless, to reiterate, Burton's new man was decidedly not a teenager.

In fact what was most significant about this new type was that he did not present a wholly coherent identity at all. While the gentleman was a unified personality, Burton's casual image resulted in a proliferation of styles and settings – the carefree motorist in his car, the country walker, the would-be executive with his attaché case. These multiple roles in part reflected

retailers' efforts to introduce the much-needed cycle of innovation. As Sydney Jacobson, Lionel's brother, put it in his widely reported speech to the Clothing Institute in 1954, Burton's new advertisements were designed to 'raise doubts and questions in people's minds as to whether they are correctly dressed.'[58] Yet the restless quality of these images also reflected the industry's reading of broader cultural trends. It has been pointed out that masculinity in the fifties displayed a variety of different and often contradictory facets – the domesticated husband of the sociological survey, the wartime hero, the sexually virile character of much contemporary fiction.[59] Lionel Jacobson himself glossed this changeability among men in sociological terms. Increased education, higher incomes and shifts in young men's relations with their fathers had combined to produce a customer who had new opportunities and demands.[60] Menswear retailers' notion of the fashion cycle was both a commercial response to these changes and itself an intervention into the culture of younger men.

And change was international as well as domestic. Burton's new look was less secure in its aura of Englishness than the gentleman had been, more cross-cut by international influences. Successive waves of foreign design style reshaped the suit and its cultural symbolism. The arrival of the American drape in the mid 1950s was among the first of these imports. But it was the influence of 'continental' styling, in particular the impact of the Italian suit at the end of the decade, which registered this internationalism most dramatically. With its lightweight materials, brighter colours and slimline jacket and trousers, the Italian style emphasized the contours of men's bodies, especially their legs and thighs, rather than camouflaging them under the weight of heavy fabrics. As the *Financial Times* gossipped to its readers in 1960, businessmen had been among the first to embrace the new outlook. It was their exposure to more stylish and less formal fashion, on trips to the continent or America, which led the way.[61] On the eve of Britain's hoped-for entry into the Common Market (which Burton's fully supported) European fashions gained an added significance.

The combined effect of these style-led innovations was to place men at the centre of attention; to subject men's personalities as well as their physique to greater scrutiny. As *The Outfitter* put it approvingly about Burton's first TV commercials: 'it was important to the whole schema that the viewer's attention should be riveted on the male figure'.[62] Yet despite this celebratory tone, many within the industry continued to fret about the excesses of fashion. For the *Advertiser's Weekly* Burton's recent campaigns had been gaining a reputation for 'fantasy and extravagance' which bordered on the feminine. If men were treated in this way, the danger was that customers would see a: 'whole series of precocious young men, dressed in anything save what ordinary mortals would ever dream of wearing – and displaying feet, legs and arms that were anything but typical'.[63] Once again such anxieties hinted at the more eccentric versions of masculinity which were suggested by excessive dress consciousness. The key to avoiding such

accusations was to convey an air of 'naturalness' alongside the focus on style. And naturalness was now in part anchored by a new emphasis on heterosexuality for men.

From the mid 1950s sequence after sequence of Burton's press and TV advertisements pictured the younger man with his girl. The first Crawford advertisements were cast as a lighthearted romance: opening with that 'special date' and then moving on to 'getting engaged' and 'meeting the family'.[64] Later commercials even went so far as to show the hero in a clinch, with his hair ruffled! Burton's use of what quickly became known in the trade as the 'boy-girl theme' was one of a number of campaigns produced in response to the success of adverts for Players cigarettes, where the stated aim was to speak to 'the young post-war generation' via a personal interest story.[65] It was the inclusion of women which reinforced the mood of fun and carefree gaiety. Femininity could be used to suggest modernity, but also provide a normalizing safeguard, thus preventing accusations of eccentricity by conservatives within the industry. It was this double burden of the modern and the traditional which women carried within advertising throughout the 1950s. A 'feminine angle' was also evident on Burton's shop floor. From 1958 experiments as far apart as Aberdeen and Plymouth aimed to break the male atmosphere of the store. Every Saturday while the husband was being fitted, a female employee served tea and biscuits to his wife, and sweets to the children.[66]

Burton's new approach to their market was not unique. During the later 1950s variations on the twin themes of individuality and contemporaneity were visible in advertising across a wide variety of product ranges aimed at men. Cars, cigarettes, lager beers, as well as menswear, were all given a similar treatment. Among the profession they were referenced by a familiar shorthand. Campaigns such as these went by the collective name of 'trading up'.[67] Understanding of the concept varied considerably. For some agencies it signified the impact of American marketing methods, especially the type of motivational consumer research pioneered by Ernst Dichter. For others the concept implied a more imaginative approach to commercial communication, especially in the field of copywriting and art direction. But there was general agreement that trading up involved a debate about social class. Attempts to modernize and upgrade products addressed to men, as to other groups, registered advertisers' and marketers' efforts to make sense of shifts in social status. It is here that Burton's advertising directly touched on the most significant sociological debate of the decade – affluence and the post-war working-class.

Privately as well as publicly, Burton's were understandably reticent about any discussion of their product in class terms. The vision of everyman remained as strong in the late 1950s as it had been in the era of the gentleman. But discussions within the advertising agencies revealed a more explicit stance. Trading up was read in terms of a specific core audience. Reviewing the genre in *The Persuasion Industry* (1965), John Pearson and

Graham Turner noted its appeal to what became an endlessly discussed social type, the status hunter: 'the C2 commuters who drink lager instead of beer, smoke tipped instead of plain, eat plain chocolate instead of milk'.[68] John May of Hobson Bates agency, to whom Burton's themselves turned in 1961, interpreted his company's work on the famous 'You're never alone with a Strand' campaign in similar terms. He was, as he put it, out to get the younger age group, the impecunious but fashion-conscious youngster who smoked to impress his friends and to show them he was with it.[69] Burton's remained coy about this social frame of reference. Yet their shift from the gentleman to the more fluid and ambiguous casual man involved a commercial re-reading of the changing status of their customers. In the menswear industry, as in other sectors, the mid 1950s was a key moment of transition. This was not simply a change in the presentation of commodities, it was a new reading of taste and fashion as markers of social mobility.

Conclusion

In purely commercial terms Burton's project was a failure. Their efforts to read the change in menswear miscarried. The company was quite literally overtaken by even more dramatic changes in the market. It was the growth of genuinely casual clothes – and with it the casualization of social mores – which presented the biggest headache for the tailoring trade in the 1960s. The tale of Burton's over the next decade was that of a firm increasingly out of touch with contemporary trends. But that is another story.

Our account has not simply been framed as a business narrative, nor as a cultural judgement on Britain in the 1950s. Burton's has been used as a case-study for broader debates about modern mass-consumption. How then do we characterize our arguments? First, studies of particular sectors and markets do throw a massive question mark over generalized models of consumer change. But they also problematize established historical narratives about the nature of post-war British Society. The so-called paths to mass consumption are plural and diverse; there is no single blueprint. Furthermore, the shifts which do occur are multi-causal and the pace of transformation is extremely uneven. Menswear retailing provides an eloquent testimony to the complexity of post-war British business organization. The suit was never quite a mass-produced commodity, not even for the bulk of the market. Burton's world of goods evoked traditional codes of social honour alongside more modernizing images of cultural democracy. And though national advertising did increasingly set the pace, it co-existed with much more traditional techniques of salesmanship. Notions of 'revolution' or total innovation, the preferred vocabulary of professionals then as now, do not capture the subtleties of change as they took place from the middle of the 1950s. Interpreting the significance of this moment raises the important question of how consumers and markets are understood. Burton's sold clothes to men, but this was always more than an economic transaction. In the two-way exchange between retailers and their customers,

cultural imagery was as much a currency as money. Men's conceptions of their bodies and their personalities – what today goes under the fashionable name of identity – were traded as part of the purchasing process. The gentleman and his carefree younger brother, the casual man, were just such personae. Yet the full meaning of these types, and the nature of the transition which they embodied, cannot be deduced from a history of retailing alone. Their identities were in part assembled from broader social languages, beyond the shop window and the advertising frame. Modern consumption is about the cultural positioning of goods in this wider sense. Sir Montague himself would have told us that.

NOTES

1 'Special letter of invitation', in file marked 'Opening of new premises', 1953, Burton Archives, Box 122, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds. This essay is part of a longer piece of research funded by the University of Portsmouth. The authors acknowledge the institution's financial support and wish to thank Adrian Rifkin and Valerie Swales for their input and Lucy Bland, Peter Jackson, Joan Keating, James Vernon and Daniel Virgili for their helpful comments.

2 Ray Gosling, 'Gosling on the High Street', Radio 4, 10 July 1992.

3 Nik Cohn, 'Today There are no Gentlemen' in his *Ball the Wall. Nik Cohn in the Age of Rock*, Picador, 1989, pp. 258–9.

4 Cohn, 'Today', p. 259.

5 See for example: Alec Cairncross, *The British Economy since 1945: Economic Policy and Performance*, Blackwell, 1992; and his *Years of Recovery: British Economic Policy 1945–51*, Methuen, 1985; Alec Cairncross and Nita Watts, *The Economic Section 1939–61: A Study in Economic Advising*, Routledge, 1989; G. D. N. Worswick and P. H. Ady (eds), *The British Economy in the Nineteen-Fifties*, Clarendon, 1962; B. Alford, *British Economic Performance 1945–1975*, Macmillan, 1988; John Dow, *The Management of the British Economy 1945–60*, Cambridge University Press, 1964; Sidney Pollard, *The Development of the British Economy 1914–1990*, 4th edition, Edward Arnold, 1992.

6 See for example: Frederick Wells, *Hollins and Viyella, A Study in Business History*, David and Charles, 1968; Martin Adeny, *The Motor Makers: the Turbulent History of Britain's Car Industry*, Collins, 1988; J. Davy, *The Standard Motor Car 1903–1963*, private printed, 1967; Keith Geddes with Gordon Bussey, *The Set Makers*, BEMA, 1991.

7 For the impact of American retailing and marketing techniques on British business in the 1950s see: James Garrett, 'Commercial Production', in Brian Henry (ed.), *British Television Advertising. The first 30 years*, Century Benham, 1986, pp. 386–9; David Ogilvy, *Confessions of an Advertising Man. The all-time best-seller about advertising*, Pan, (1963) revised edition, 1987.

8 For debates about the working-class see: John H. Goldthorpe, et al., *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, Cambridge University Press, 1969; Ferdynand Zweig, *The Worker in an Affluent Society*, Heinemann, 1961; Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. For women: Birmingham Feminist History Group, 'Feminism as femininity in the nineteen-fifties?', *Feminist Review*, No. 3, 1979; Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Half Way to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain*, Tavistock, 1980; Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives*, Virago, 1985. For youth see: Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, London Press Exchange, 1959; Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds), *Resistance through Rituals, Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1976; Dick Hebdige, *Subculture, the Meaning of Style*, Methuen, 1979.

9 For the debate over sectoral as opposed to more general analysis see: Ben Fine, 'Modernity, urbanism, and modern consumption: a comment', and P. D. Glennie and N. J. Thrift, 'Modern consumption: theorising commodities and consumers', both in *Society and Space* 11: 5, 1993, pp. 599–606.

10 For comment on the concept see: Paul Johnson, 'Conspicuous consumption and working-class culture in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, Vol. 38, 1988, p. 27.

11 Montague Burton, *Globe Girdling, Being the impressions of an amateur observer*, Vol. 1, Petty and Son, 1935, p. 13.

12 Summarized in Board of Trade, *Working Party Reports Heavy Clothing*, HMSO, 1947, p. 9.

13 See among many 'Pseudo Bespoke by Multiple Shops and "Cult of Shabbiness" are to Blame for Slump in Business', *Men's Wear*, 10 September 1932, p. 7; also the exchange of letters in the *Financial Times* between Raymond Burton (23 January 1962) and the General Secretary of the National Association of Outfitters (26 January 1962).

14 Compare Board of Trade, *Census of Production for 1948*, HMSO, 1948, p. 7/H/10 and *Census of Production for 1968*, HMSO, 1968, p. 117/7. For market share see: Economist Intelligence Unit, 'Men's Suits', *Retail Business* 4: 46, December 1961, p. 26.

15 See: The Monopolies Commission, *United Drapery Stores Ltd and Montague Burton Ltd. A Report on the Proposed Merger*, Cmnd. 3397, HMSO 1967; Katrina Honeyman, 'Montague Burton Ltd.: The creators of well-dressed men', in Katrina Honeyman and John Chartres (eds), *Leeds City Business 1893–1993: Essays Marking the Centenary of the Incorporation*, privately printed, 1993.

16 EIU, 'Men's Suits', p. 26.

17 For biographical details see: 'Burton, Sir Montague Maurice', in David Jeremy (ed.), *Dictionary of Business Biography*, Butterworths, 1984; and Eric Sigsworth, *Montague Burton. The tailor of taste*, Manchester University Press, 1990.

18 The following account is taken from 'Editorial to be used in connection with the opening of the new branch', in file marked 'Opening of new premises', 1953, Burton Archives, Box 122.

19 See: *Wiltshire News*, 10 September 1953; *Wiltshire Gazette*, 11 September 1953.

20 See: Devizes Rural District Council, *The Official Guide. Devizes Rural District*, Home Publishing Company, Croydon, 3rd edn, 1954.

21 Burton's opened nineteen new branches between February and September 1953, see 'Opening of New Premises', Burton Archives, Box 122.

22 On Burton's strategic property acquisitions see Honeyman, 'Montague Burton', pp. 206–7. On the visibility of local branches see Gosling, 'Gosling on the High Street'.

23 Montague Burton, *Manager's Guide*, January 1953, p. 55, Burton Archives, Box 5.

24 Burton, *Manager's Guide*, p. 58.

25 Burton, *Manager's Guide*, p. 63.

26 'Burton's Record Orders', *Men's Wear*, 5 August 1933, p. 17.

27 *Southern Daily Echo*, 25 February 1953.

28 Burton's also favoured the *Daily Mail* and the *News Chronicle*. For information on class readership see: PEP, *Report on the British Press*, PEP, 1938, pp. 138–40 and Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, *National Readership Survey*, 1954, p. 56.

29 Circular letter to branch managers 7 June 1952, in file marked 'Half Price Sale launched summer 1952', Burton Archives, Box 122.

30 A Correspondent, 'Men's clothiers in merger deals', *Times Review of Industry* 8: 95 (New Series) December 1954, p. 65.

31 Editorial, *Men's Wear*, 13 February 1954.

32 See among very many: *Financial Times*, 21 May 1960; *Daily Express*, 25 November 1960; *Daily Mail*, 4 September 1965.

33 Cohn, 'Today', pp. 261–64, 270–75.

34 The following is drawn from Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MSS. 222/CM/1/6.

35 At just under three per cent of total consumers' expenditure in spite of the increase in real wages. See Central Statistical Office, *National Income and Expenditure 1958*, HMSO, 1958, pp. 24–5. For an analysis of the clothing industry's prospects in the light of these figures see Mark Abrams, 'More money, less clothes?', *Financial Times*, 1 October 1955.

36 File marked 'Memorial and retirement letters', Burton Archives, Box 125.

37 Amongst many contemporary biographical sketches see 'Top tailor', *The North East Industrialist*, August 1962.

38 The following is taken from '"Revolutionary" behind the ever-open door', *The Sunday Sun*, (Newcastle) 29 May 1960.

39 This had clearly worried him to the extent of demanding complete control of company

policy in these areas before accepting Burton's take-over of Jackson's. See file marked 'Jackson merger', Burton Archives, Box 135.

40 Annual Report 1956, p. 12, Burton Archives, Box 185.

41 Annual Report 1955, p. 12, Burton Archives, Box 185.

42 Annual Report 1954, p. 12, Burton Archives, Box 185.

43 *Display*, April 1954.

44 'Address by Mr L. Jacobson to National Display Convention, 21 and 22.9.1954', file marked 'Jackson's', Burton Archives, Box 124. For Burton's display centre see *Style for Men Weekly*, 2 April 1964.

45 Burton's advertising budget increased sixfold between 1952 and 1955 – from 7 to 25 per cent of the total press advertising expenditure of all men's tailors. See *Statistical Review of Press Advertising*, Vol. XX, 1952 – Vol. XXIII, 1955.

46 For information on Dorland and W. S. Crawford we wish to thank Tony Bagnall Smith for allowing us to read his unpublished history of Dorland Advertising. For more general histories of the profession see: John Pearson and Graham Turner, *The Persuasion Industry*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965; Jeremy Tunstall, *The Advertising Man in London Advertising Agencies*, Chapman and Hall, 1964; Blanche Elliot, *A History of English Advertising*, Business Publications Ltd, 1962.

47 *The Outfitter*, 3 April 1954, p. 38. See also *Advertiser's Weekly*, 11 February 1954; *World's Press News*, 12 February 1954 and 4 June 1954 for further discussion of Crawford's campaign.

48 For details of Burton's first television commercials see *Commercial Television News*, 7 October, 1955.

49 For debates about Burton's working-class market see for example: 'Ten Provincial Shares for 1956', *Stock Exchange Gazette*, 30 December 1955, p. 101.

50 Roy Hattersley, 'Gone for a Burton', *The Independent*, 8 April 1994, p. 19.

51 Quoted in Gosling, 'Gosling on the High Street'.

52 For contemporary views of the female shopper as irrational and susceptible to manipulation see: J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Penguin, 1958.

53 'Revolutionary', *The Sunday Sun*, 29 May 1960.

54 Burton, *Manager's Guide*, p. 31.

55 Burton, *Manager's Guide*, p. 64.

56 Quoted in Sigsworth, *Montague Burton*, p. 51.

57 Leslie Rosen, 'The Tailor of "Taste"', paper given to Leeds Jewish Historical Society, n.d., p. 5, Burton Archives, Box 204.

58 See among many *Men's Wear*, 16 October 1954 and *Advertiser's Weekly*, 28 October 1954.

59 See for example Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion. Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, Virago, 1990, pp. 20–1.

60 See Factfinder, 'Montague Burton Suits Me', *Stock Exchange Gazette*, 8 March 1957.

61 'Lighter and brighter clothes for men', *Financial Times*, 21 May, 1960.

62 'TV Clothes Circuit', *The Outfitter*, 22 December 1956.

63 *Advertiser's Weekly*, 1 June 1956.

64 *The Outfitter*, 3 April 1954.

65 'Tailor-made for Burton', *World's Press News*, 23 February 1962.

66 See *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, 23 May 1959; also *Style for Men*, March 1958.

67 See Pearson and Turner, *Persuasion Industry*, pp. 32–43.

68 Pearson and Turner, *Persuasion Industry*, p. 29.

69 Pearson and Turner, *Persuasion Industry*, pp. 79–80.